In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampitiftua couples included 20 where the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampitiftua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 8) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of the occupants of three other villages to Tampitiftua: there were no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[text continues on p. 42]

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

ALL TOGETHER

status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes."

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for these unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them.

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, whenever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the most striking changes has to do with the relations of the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc—for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial issues for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquired from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways.

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word wiró — bird" — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These wiró function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials.

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called tãtãpawã — literally "live all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4).

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these wiró groups as age groups of men's ceremonial societies. He calls them grupos de trabalho (work groups). He reports them with groups among the adult men and women that formerly there had been these corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's wiró group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages, thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, feasts, races and wrestling matches where Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age groupings of men's ceremonial societies as described above.

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 98).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtãpawã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Weapons.—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.5 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotrygon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial societies, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561 616

Ceremonial societies.—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial societies. Each of these societies is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirá" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety [345] owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections [423] owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials.

Feast groups.—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tikiapawã (literally, "five all to eat"). Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only unexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so [582] that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 554 858

Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 882 [302] [301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302] 881 [292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302] [582]

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621 [578] [582] [574]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161] [182] [178] [591]